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The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY, ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, MARCH 29, 1919

The Prison Special Train at San Francisco
Women in Prison Costume

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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Notes of the Week

Suffrage in the States

EFFORTS are being made to introduce both a Presidential suffrage bill and a full suffrage bill into the Pennsylvania legislature. The governor included a recommendation for woman suffrage in his message to the legislature. His stand and the recommendation of the Republican National Committee are considered to be large factors in the probable success of one or both of the suffrage measures. There is more chance that the referendum bill will pass since it would not become immediately effective but would have to go to the voters before becoming law. The Pennsylvania constitution provides that presidential electors shall be chosen by male voters over twenty-one years old. The opinion of prominent lawyers who have been consulted is to the effect that this part of the state constitution could not be enforced if the presidential suffrage bill should be passed and that the United States constitution in regard to choosing of Presidential electors would take precedence over the state constitution.

In Maine a presidential suffrage bill has been passed by both branches of the legislature. A bill providing for a referendum on the question of full suffrage for women was defeated.

The Senate of Iowa has voted to postpone indefinitely the House bill to grant primary suffrage to women; it passed a resolution proposing a referendum for full suffrage. The chief reasons for the defeat of suffrage in Iowa were concerned with a local fight in connection with the next gubernatorial election.

Women Telephone Operators Dissatisfied

THE women telephone operators in the employ of the Administration of the Telephone Companies are so dissatisfied with the way in which they have been treated since the telephone systems have been taken over by the government under Secretary Burleson that they are planning to strike. They allege three grievances against Mr. Burleson, namely:

"First—He has not allowed the companies to negotiate with their employees on questions of wages and hours.

"Second—The telephone operators' unions on the Pacific Coast have an agreement with the company to which the government itself was a party. Mr. Burleson has allowed that agreement to be broken.

"Third—He has relentlessly fought trade-union organization of the workers."

They state these particular instances of the unfair treatment they have received at his hands:

"In the New England district and on the Pacific coast he has refused to allow the unions to function.

"In St. Paul he locked out 1,200 union employees who had reached an agreement with the company.

"Throughout the country every method of discouraging organization has been practiced. Operators have been discriminated against to the point of persecution for union membership. In Wichita, Kans., a union supervisor was discharged. As she has two brothers in France and is the sole support of her widowed mother, the public-spirited citizens petitioned for a hearing of the case. The hearing has not been granted."

Belgian Women in Class With Americans

THE franchise has not been given to women in Belgium, in spite of the fact that it was announced some time ago that women would be included in the new Electoral Reform Bill. The final vote was 62 for including women and 70 against. Not long after this defeat the National Congress of Miners met in Brussels and adopted a resolution protesting against the defeat of woman suffrage; the Congress denounced "the manoeuvers of politcal reactionaries to prevent the carrying out of the solemn promises made on the subject of universal suffrage."

Must all the democracy go to the late enemies of ourselves, Great Britain, and France? Will no one of the allied countries grant votes to women on equal terms with men?

British Women Not Allowed in Press Gallery

BRITISH suffragists have been endeavoring to secure for the representatives of their papers seats in the press gallery of the House of Commons. They recently received from the sergeant-at-arms the following reply to their request:

"With reference to your letter of 16th December, 1918, and my reply of 20th December, 1918, I beg to inform you that, as promised, I have brought your said letter to the notice of the Speaker.

"He desires me to say that, after giving careful consideration to your application, he regrets that he is unable to see his way at present to admit a representative of 'The Vote' to the Press Gallery of the House of Commons. There are many applicants who applied before 'The Vote,' and there is no vacancy now."

Woman Seeks Office in Argentina

THE first woman candidate for parliament in Argentina has appeared although the women there have not the privilege of voting. The woman candidate is Senora Julieta Lenteri de Renshaw, a physician. She will run for the Chamber of Deputies from Beunos Ayres.

Suffrage in New Mexico

AN effort to secure an amendment to the constitution of the state of New Mexico has recently been defeated by the legislature.

The Christian Science Monitor makes the following comment upon the fight for suffrage in New Mexico:

"Equal suffrage resolved itself into something of a racial question in New Mexico this week, when the lower house of the state legislature refused to submit a constitutional amendment giving the franchise to women. As usual, a three-fourths vote was required. Twenty-six voted for the proposition and twenty against it, three-fourths of those voting in the negative being Spanish-speaking members. The time appears to be not far distant when those who vote Spanish on this question will also have to walk Spanish."

Prosecuting Pickets in Washington

WHEN the suffragists adopted the accepted labour policy of picketing for a redress of grievances they were prosecuted to the full extent of the law or even farther. Now that picketing is being done in the District of Columbia by striking waiters in front of one of the hotels instead of by women in front of the White House, the treatment given by the same court, the same prosecuting attorney trying the case, is quite different. The waiters were arrested for carrying banners without a permit, released on bail and tried. They were not sentenced to a fine or imprisonment, but released.

This is the first case of picketing in a strike which has occurred in the District since the suffrage picketing. Having arrested one group of pickets, the Administration officials considered arresting others in the same arbitrary and dangerous manner.

But the very startling fact was brought to light that pickets for better working conditions were not sent to gaol, while picketers for better political conditions suffered the severest punishment the District authorities could inflic. Until they can secure for themselves the same treatment as that given men, women will be unable to a large extent to improve the general state of affairs.

The Prison Special Tour Ends

A HUGE mass meeting in Carnegie Hall, New York, on the evening of Monday, March 10, brought to a triumphant close the three weeks tour of the Prison Special train which had been traveling across the continent under the name of the "Democracy Limited," everywhere arousing great masses of the people to a high pitch of indignation over the Administration's failure to push the federal suffrage amendment through to a successful issue and make of this country of ours a real democracy.

The final meeting aroused especial interest in New York because that city had, just a week before, witnessed the protest demonstration of a large group of suffragists on the occasion of President Wilson's departure for France, and had witnessed also the brutal manner of their handling by the so-called guardians of law, order, freedom, and democracy. One of the most interesting phases of the Carnegie Hall affair grew out of the situation of the night of the March 4 demonstration.

Following the happenings of that night, letters and apologies in person had poured in to the New York headquarters of the National Woman's Party from army and naval officers, sailors, privates and marines, who desired the women to know that their treatment at the hands of men in uniform had been no concerted action, and that the great mass of the service men were greatly incensed over it. The Soldiers', Sailors' and Marines' Protective Association wrote a very splendid letter to the New York chairman, in which it offered from among its membership a detail to serve the women as a guard of honor on any occasion when such an escort might be of use to them in guaranteeing freedom of speech and an orderly meeting. Such an honor guard of twenty-five soldiers, sailors and marines accompanied the speakers to Carnegie Hall on March 10, passed in dignified formation up the aisle to seats reserved for them, and after the regular program was at an end one of their number asked leave to be spokesman for his fellows. He said that the men of the Protective Association stood ready to continue the fight at home for that which they had upheld abroad—the right of self government, and that wherever that seemed threatened as it had been threatened in the case of women, they meant to do all in their power to rescue that right to American people.

"I feel compelled to state most forcefully" he said, "that the actions on the part of certain soldiers and sailors last Tuesday night in front of the Metropolitan Opera House was absolutely unwarranted, and therefore the Soldiers', Sailors' and Marines' Association is hereby voicing its protest against this outrage and the brutal treatment shown against such peaceful women. We have with us tonight twenty-five men who have pledged themselves as a guard of honor not only to protect the United States uniform, but also to protect the women in all of their undertakings."

THE meeting in Carnegie Hall, which was beautifully decorated for the occasion, opened with a pageant of free nations, grouped colorfully about the central figure of "Justice" enthroned, before whom enchained America with a black-draped following of mourning women came to beg for a place in the light of true democracy. It was a large and tensely interested audience, to whom the symbolism of the pageant made a very poignant and solemn appeal.

Speeches from several of the Prison Special members followed and were given a hearty reception by the great gathering, which later passed unanimously a petition to the President to call an extraordinary session of Congress for the passage of the amendment, and which also pledged money most generously in response to the appeal of Miss Mabel Vernon's collection speech. Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, of New York City, state chairman for New York, presided at the meeting and introduced the speakers, who were:

Mrs. John Rogers, also of New York, who explained the purpose and aim of the Prison Special, and described its ultra-successful passage throughout the United States, telling too, the history of woman's fight for suffrage since

The Return of the Prison Special
Miss Vida Milholland Descending from Train.

1848 and the narrow margin by which it failed of culmination this month;

Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, of New York, who told of the picketing and arrests and Woman's Party methods in general, and who won great good will and sympathy from her audience;

Miss Mary Winsor, of Haverford, Pa., who described conditions in jail and told of the privations undergone by American women for the principle they have been taught to believe in by the accumulation of all American history—liberty;

Miss Mabel Vernon, of Nevada, who asked for money with which to "carry on";

Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett, of Hartford, Connecticut, who has also been to prison for suffrage, closed the program by summarizing the present status of the Susan B. Anthony amendment and demanding a special session of Congress for its immediate passage.

Carnegie Hall was packed and jammed to the roof to hear these women. It is the only time in the history of the suffrage movement that New York has turned out in such eager thousands to hear the story that women had to tell of their struggle for the vote.

The boxes had been reserved by many of he most prominent men and women in New York, among them Governor and Mrs. John Whitman, Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach, Mrs. William Randolph Hearst, Mr. John Milholland, Mrs. Hornsby Evans, Mrs. Arthur Keasby, Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, Mrs. John Winters Brannan, Mrs. William Thrich, Mrs. R. R. Hall, Mrs. Agatha Kress, Mrs. William Merz, Mrs. William Floyd, Mrs. J. Sargent Cram, Miss Julia Ritley, Mrs. J. Henry Dick, Miss Minna Friedman, Mrs. Frederick Geller, Mrs. R. J. Caldwell, Mrs. Frederick Ackerman, Mrs. William Colt, and Mrs. A. D. Barnes. Mrs. Hornsby Evans had taken the chairmanship of the Committee on Box Reservation, and had been most successful in arousing interest in many quarters, as is shown by the list above.

The beautiful pageant was the work of Mrs. Aline Davis Fleisher, who spent several weeks in perfecting it, with the assistance of Miss Hazel MacKaye. Miss Vida Milholland took the central part of "Justice," receiving the beautifully costumed women of free nations, who grouped about her in a glorious massing of color and light as the black-robed women of disfranchised America approached to make their plea. The two women who worked so tirelessly for its success deserve great credit for the beauty and impressiveness of their pageant.

The whole meeting was arranged by the New York Branch, under the direction of the Chairman, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont and the acting Chairman, Mrs. John Winters Brannan, with the assistance of Miss Doris Stevens, and Miss Rebecca Hourwich, national organizers.

A committee of prominent New York women met the members of the Prison Special on their arrival at the station, taking them in automobiles to the homes of various well-known families where they were dined. The Committee of Welcome comprised the following: Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Mrs. William Randolph Hearst, Mrs. Hornsby Evans, Mrs. E. St. Clair Thompson, Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach, Mrs. John Winters Brannan, Mrs. Frederick Ackerman, and Mrs. Frederick Geller.

ON the morning of March 10, the same day on which the New York meeting took place, the Prison Special had stopped in Hartford, Connecticut. They were there greeted at the station by a large group and escorted with gaily flowing banners and a band to the city hall, where the function room was crowded with several hundred persons to hear the welcome given the prisoners by Mayor Kinsella. Immediately following this Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn, chairman of the Connecticut branch of the Womans' Party, opened an out-door meeting by introducing the women of the special as speakers on the steps of the municipal building. Thousands gathered before the steps and soon the crowd was spread out in all directions far beyond the reach of the speakers' voices. Mrs. Hepburn, in opening the meeting, said in part:

"In his great speech in Boston President Wilson said, 'Men have testified to me in Europe that our men were possessed by something that they could only call a religious fervor. They were not like any of the other soldiers. They had a vision, they had a dream, and fighting in that dream they turned back the whole tide of battle and it never came back.'

"These words might be applied to the women of the Woman's Party. They have a vision of what democracy means. They know that no country can honestly boast of its democracy while it disfranchises twenty million women. They have the intelligence to consider just what the position of women is in this country that calls itself democratic, and they have the spirit to protest.

"Men, you ought to glory in their clearness of vision and their courage. Men have everything to gain and nothing to lose by women's becoming self respecting and fit to be the real helpmates of men.

"Stop and think what you would do in women's place. Suppose, like us, you were not allowed a voice in your own government and the President of your country told the world that you had a democracy here in America. What would you do? What would any self respecting man do? What have men done? They have brought on a revolution in order to get votes, when disfranchised. Judging from what men have done in the past you would make the protest of the Woman's Party look very mild and lady like. You would call any man, who would sit quietly and take the insults, a coward and unfit to live in a free country.

"The reason you do not apply the same reasoning to the women's case is that you have become used to looking upon women as naturally servile and second rate. You are willing to have them beg politely for their freedom but not demand it. Well, there are some women in this country who are neither servile nor second rate and who have the spirit to protest and will continue to protest against the present position of American women until it is changed. They are among the most worth while women in this country, the kind you men really like in spite of all your old fashioned notions."

Following the street meeting the Prison Special personnel were guests at a big luncheon held for them at the Allyn House before time for their departure to New York.

This luncheon had been arranged by Mrs. George H. Day, of Hartford, member of the National Adivsory Council, and Miss Catherine Flanagan, national organizer. It was a very large and brilliant affair, accounted one of the most successful suffrage gatherings ever held in Hartford. Many of the city's notables were present to welcome enthusiastically the members of the Prison Special. A large collection seemed to grow spontantously under their generous giving, and pledges were made for large sums more. Speeches were made by Miss Lucy Burns, Miss Lillian Ascough, Miss Lucy Branham, Miss Mabel Vernon, and Miss Mary Ingham, of the Special, and Mrs. Hepburn, Connecticut chairman. Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett, of Hartford, acted as toastmistress for the occasion.

Members of the Special say that one of the incidents which impressed them about their Hartford sojourn was the great friendliness of the facts which greeted them all along the way on their march from the station to the City Hall. Everywhere, along sidewalks and leaning from windows and doors, all Hartford seemed to be welcoming them from the heart.

ONE other meeting previous to the Hartford and New York successes has not been recorded in The Suffragist. This is the Boston meeting, the Special arriving there from Syracuse at six o'clock in the evening of Sunday, March 9.

People who were present say that it was one of the most inspiring meetings of the whole series of Prison Special triumphs. To it an especial significance was lent by the presence on the stage of the Wilbure Theatre that night, of the sixteen women who had been jailed in the Charles Street prison of Boston on ten day sentences following their public protest in Boston on February 24, President's Day. The ceremony of the presentation of prison pins to

these sixteen newest prisoners in the cause of democracy was doubtless the most impressive feature of the program. Each bearing high a purple, white and gold picket banner, and led by Miss Katherine Morey with the same American flag which reposed with her behind Boston prison bars, the women entered the crowded theatre and ascended to the stage to the music of the Woman's Marseillaise—"There's a sound of bursting chains—," there to receive their bronze "war cross," as the newspapers have named the prison door replica, symbol of service.

Mrs. Agnes Morey, Massachusetts State Chairman, presided at the meeting. Mrs. Havemeyer, Miss Winsor, and Mrs. John Rogers, spoke for the Prison Special. Mrs. Rose Roewer, of Belmont, Massachusetts, one of the Boston picket line, related the purpose of the Wilson Day demonstration when the President returned from abroad. Mrs. Jessica Henderson, of Maryland, told the story of the demonstration, unfurling the lettered banners which had been part of the picket. Miss Katherine Morey, of Brookline, spoke graphically of the experience of herself and the other women in the Boston jail, where they were confined following the February 24 arrests.

Boston newspapers speak with enthusiasm of the cosmopolitan but uniformly sympathetic character of the big audience. The pledging of money to the "war-chest" of the Party, following Miss Vernon's appeal, was a most spirited affair, and decidedly successful. The following resolutions were adopted with fervor and sent to the President by cable, with money raised at the meeting for that purpose:

"Whereas, alone among the nations, the United States Government, during and since the war, has repeatedly refused the demand of American women for enfranchisement, and,

"Whereas, the necessary two-thirds majority of both Houses is already pledged to pass the federal suffrage amendment through the next Congress,

"Be it resolved, that this meeting call upon President Wilson to summon immediately an extraordinary session of Congress and to assure the passage of the federal suffrage amendment in time for it to be ratified by state legislatures now sitting, thereby placing the United States again in the forefront of victorious democracy."

The Boston meeting was organized solely by the efforts of the state Board of Directors of the Party, with the local organizer, Miss Ruth Small, who is state Secretary, and the assistance of two national organizers, Miss Elsie Hill and Miss Betty Gram. In preparation for the meeting many thousands of "Suffragists" were sold by the organizers, under the direction of Mrs. Stephen Chase, the new Massachusetts 'Suffragist" Chairman, who is doing a splendid work in building up a large state subscription list. Great numbers of Suffragists" were sold at the meeting, as well as prior to it.

In spite of the terrible night of rain and storm, the theatre was crowded wtih people and the meeting was a most phenomenal success. It has been characterized as the most remarkable demonstration in favof of suffrage that has ever taken place in Boston. So aroused were the masses of the audience over the treatment which had been accorded to their own Boston women on President's Day, and over the still worse brutality which the women suffered in the New York protest meeting before Wilson's late departure for France, that men and women sprang up on the floor of the theatre and called for various ones of the women to tell of their experience, receiving these recitals with the sternest indignation. Dr. Grace Cross, one of tht most prominent of Boston women physicians, who was in New York and underwent the terrors of that night before the Metropolitan Opera House, was present among the audience. When this fact became known the crowds called for her appearance until she was forced to stand and receive the ovation which was given her—a storm of applause and cheers. Later a large collection was made for the cause, and Miss Grace Henshaw led the subscriptions with a large pledge. Among others, Mr. Winfield shaw, of Manchester, New Hampshire, pledged $100 in honor of his wife, who served a jail sentence in the Charles Street jail of Boston following her participation in the Welcome Home Demonstration there on February 24. Subscriptions and colections were taken by an efficient corps of young girls acting as ushers under the leadership of Mrs. Hallam Movius.

On their arrival in Boston the Prison Special members had been taken immediately to the home of Mrs. Frischell, in whose large and beautiful establishment the whole train-weary group were refreshed and made comfortable. After their rest they were entertained by Mrs. Frischell at dinner, and later taken in automobiles to the meeting.

OWING to pressure for space in the last week's issue of the "Suffragist" the stay of the Prison Special in Syracuse, New York, could only be mentioned, and we were forced to reserve a full account for this number.

Extracts from enthusiastic newspaper headlines quoted in the last issue give some idea of the extreme success of the huge mass-meeting in the Mizpah audtiorium that night of March 8. But the real success of the meeting actually surpassed all accounts. People who were present say that Miss Lucy Burns spoke for much over an hour to an entranced audience, making the most inspired appeal that they had ever heard anywhere, even from her. Her hearers were won to her en masse, and the cause of the National Woman's Party thereby gained many members, workers and ardent supporters.

Mrs. Havemeyer, who is well-known and well-beloved in Syracuse, especially through her work with the "Land Army," preceded Miss Burns and was greeted wtih great applause. Another speaker who gained the respect and admiration of the audience for her clear thinking and her honesty of expression was Miss Sue White, of Tennessee, Southern-Democrat born, yet who still has the courage and the perspicacity to place the blame for recent suffrage defeats where it belongs. Mrs. William Hutton Blauvelt, of Syracuse, member of the National Advisory Council, presided at the meeting. Miss Vida Milholland, beloved songstress of the Prison Special, delighted the audience with her songs.

Large sums of money were raised and pledged at the meeting, sufficient to cover all expenses and yet leave an amount in the District treasury for future work on the Congressman of Northern New York. Miss Anita Pollitzer, national organizer, worked in Syracuse prior to the meeting, under the direction of Mrs. Wm. Blauvelt, member of the Congressional District Board, helping to make it the great success it was.

A charming luncheon had been arranged at the Onondaga Hotel earlier in the day. It was given personally by Mrs. F. R. Hazard, District Chairman, and Mrs. William Hutton Blauvelt, member of the National Advisory Council, in honor of the members of the Prison Special, the local District Board, and nearby District Chairmen. Following this, later in the afternoon, the local District Board received a small group of personal friends in the reception rooms of the Onondaga to meet the honor guests of the tour in a purely social way. Mrs. Robert Walker and Miss Lucy Branham, Prison Special members from Maryland, spoke at the reception.

National Convention Date Changed

THE National Convention of the National Woman's Party at Washington will not take place in April, as was originally announced.

In accordance with a decision of the National Executive Committee at its meeting on Friday, March 21, the date for the convention will be set for some time later. Owing to the fact that apparently Congress will be away from Washington all during April, it was voted at the national committee meeting that the Convention be postponed until later when the Senate and the House will be in session here.

The date for the Convention will be announced later.

Woman Suffrage and the Negro Vote

From a Recent Address by Chief Justice Walter Clark of North Carolina

To the Law Class at the University of North Carolina:

THERE is the certainty of the extension of the suffrage to women. This has been advocated by President Wilson, ex-President Roosevelt and William J. Bryan and is in the platforms of all the great parties. It is quite probable that the amendment to the United States constitution will get the one additional vote necessary to pass it through the Senate between now and March 4 and if not it is certain to be enacted at the called session in the summer, and will be ratified, like the prohibition amendment, so quickly that women will vote in all the states at the November election next year.

A little boy who had never seen his grandmother before, looking her over very closely said: "Are you my grandmother?" She replied with much dignity, "I am your grandmother on your father's side." To which he replied: "You've got in on the wrong side. If you want to have any influence around this house, you will have to be on mother's side." Young gentlemen, you can take the hint. It is true the province of women is the home and for that very reason she should have the ballot. Their vote will always be in the interest of the home and conservative—for morality, for education, for sanitation and for the protection of childhood.

It has been urged in opposition that if women vote the negroes will. There is no connection between the two. There are 53,000 more white women in North Carolina than all the negro men and negro women put together, and the admission of the women to the ballot box will be the surest guarantee of white supremacy.

We must also face the fact that sooner or later the negroes will exercise the right to vote guaranteed by the XV amendment. Our "grandfather clause" cannot repeal that amendment. It is purely a provision disqualifying "illiteracy" which the state had a right to enact. There is a provision therein of an exemption as to white people till 1908 from the disqualification, but that has been held invalid by three decisions in the 238 U. S. construing provision in the Maryland and Oklahoma constitutions exactly like ours, and enforcing the federal statute which authorizes 10 years' imprisonment and a $5,000 penalty and an action for damages against any registrar, poll-holder, or other person making a discrimination in the exercise of the suffrage on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude.

We have to face a condition and not a theory, and our surest protection is to increase the white vote by doubling the white majority. We have in this state about 70 white men to every 30 negroes—a white majority of 40. When women are admitted to suffrage we shall double these figures and will have 140 white voters for every 60 negroes—a white majority of 80.

The Party's "War-Chest"

MRS. Lawrence Lewis, National Finance Chairman of the Party, has sent out the following letter to suffragists all over the country from the National Headquarters in Washington. Widespread response, such as is already beginning, will do much to insure success in the next Congress:

Dear Suffragist:

Do you wish the suffrage amendment to pass in the next Congress? We know that you do, and are counting on your willingness to help promptly with a contribution.

We believe that there was just one reason why the suffrage resolution failed to pass the Sixty-fifth Congress; and that reason was—not enough money. For instance, if we had been able to put a comparatively small amount more into the New Hampshire election campaign against Senator Moses (an anti-suffragist), we could have succeeded in defeating him. A change of less than 500 votes would have defeated him and placed a suffragist in the Senate. The election of the suffragist would have given us the one vote needed during all these winter months to enable us to pass the suffrage amendment.

An extra session of Congress will probably be called within a few months, and we must not let it find us unprepared. We must use this time to go into the districts of doubtful and opposed men; so that when Congress meets success will be assured. If the agitation for the suffrage amendment is permitted to subside, there is nothing surer in the world than that Congress will be willing to shelve it for an indefinite period.

We shall continue to do our utmost here in Washington as we have in the past, but in addition we must work in the states of the doubtful and opposed men; and to enable us to do this we must have money.

Our treasury is empty. Please help now, and help with a will. Make check payable to the National Woman's Party, and address National Woman's Party, Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C.

Faithfully yours,
DORA LEWIS,
National Finance Chairman.

Senator Borah Side-Steps Again

FOLLOWING his conference in New York with a delegation of woman voters who called to talk with Senator Borah over his equivocal stand upon the Susan B. Anthony amendment, (at which time he was entirely non-committal in his remarks), the senator adopted another means of evading the issue. In Boston recently he made an appointment at the request of a delegation of suffragists—an appointment set for some minutes after his departure from the city!

At the mass-meeting in Boston on March 9, this occurrence was very plainly recounted to the assembled citizens by women speakers. The story was carried in the Boston Globe of March 10, under the caption "Women Say Borah's Promise No Good." It follows:

> "'You don't want to take any stock in Senator Borah's promises,' said Miss Mabel Vernon at the 'Prison Special' mass meeting of the women suffragists in the Wilbur Theatre last evening. 'We know him and we know what his promises amount to. He has gone back on all the promises he ever made us.'
>
> "Thus was the United States senator from Idaho branded as a sort of 'gay deceiver' with women suffragists by one of the handsomest and most prominent of the women in the National Woman's Party. Yet, emphatic as was the statement it did not produce a very great sensation with the big audience largely because of the fact that Miss Foley had just told how she and several other women had been fooled by the silver-tongued senator from the Northwest.
>
> "She and these other young women had made an appointment with him at the Touraine for 10 o'clock yesterday forenoon. They were 'on deck,' but he was not. He had left for Washington a quarter of an hour before.
>
> "The sting in the disappointment came from the fact that these young women had seen the senator the evening before and had asked him why the United States Senate had turned down the woman suffrage amendment.
>
> "He assured them that that matter had been all fixed, that the necessary vote had been secured, and that at the next session of Congress the first thing the Senate proposed to do was to take up the woman suffrage amendment and pass it. Then it was that he made the appointment for 10 o'clock in the forenoon of yesterday at the Hotel Touraine, which he evidently forgot.
>
> "Miss Vernon intimated that that was a habit the senator had, and she told of specific instances of promises made to the woman suffragists which he subsequently ignored or forgot all about."

National Woman's Party

"Who would be free themselves must strike the blow"

By Alice Park, Pioneer Suffragist of California

MORE than a hundred women have served terms in prison and hundreds have been arrested for asking for democracy, while the President has written eloquently of "Democracy" and how "close to his heart is the appeal of people for self-government."

So "Democracy Limited" is an excellent name for the train which is carrying 24 women around the country, women who have come out of jail to tell their stories and to say democracy begins at home.

The suffragettes cannot be dismissed by being called "wilful women." The Connecticut editor who said in early January that "it begins to look doubtful whether the militant suffragettes will let Washington have a happy year," cannot be disputed. Calling names and imposing jail sentences won't stop them. The men know there is only one way to stop them, and that is the final passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

So the men think. Especially the men office holders and the men politicians. Especially the men in the Democratic Party and their acknowledged leader, the President. Especially the Republican Congressmen, who see a party advantage in declaring their devotion to equal suffrage and who count forward to March 4, 1919, and their balance of power. Especially the working people, who are rebelling against their own heavy burdens.

And the women of the National Woman's Party and their leader, Alice Paul, the Quaker, are wise. They take no sides with either party. They hold the party temporarily in power, wholly responsible for failure to pass the federal suffrage amendment. They harass the Democratic Party today, but they are ready to harass the Republican Party and whoever is the Republican leader March 4, and to continue publicity demonstrations until they get votes.

Banners quoting the President's rhetorical declamations about liberty and the rights of people to self-government have been flaunted in his face at the gates of the White House, and only the refusal of passports to certain women prevented their flaunting similar banners in his face at the gates of the Paris conference.

Somebody says that the militant women are lashing the air. Contrast their tactics with those of men who seek freedom for themselves. Men lash and shoot each other when they fight. Women lash the air and carry brilliant banners. Women hunger strike and come out of prison singing songs about "Woody Wood," and playing on combs as musical instruments. They burn speeches and an effigy of the President who left them to struggle on toward freedom at home while he went afar off to talk about freedom in the abstract.

Who will say that men's murderous methods are preferable? Who will say that more could have been accomplished in six years by fighting on other lines?

The publicity stories of pickets at the White House gates, unjust arrests and burnt speeches have been told across the country, and they have done what 65 years of organized effort, beginning in the great revolutionary year of 1848, did not do.

Sixty-five years went slowly by, and at the end of two generations the suffrage movement was said to be in "a state of moribund respectability."

THEN there rose up a great number of wonderful young women with fresh enthusiasm and a small number of wonderful women of the earlier days whose patience had been exhausted by humble petitions, and the National Woman's Party began a new policy of aggressive tactics along political and publicity lines. Their success has been steady and rapid. For six years is short in comparison with the 65 preceding years.

The National Woman's Party has kept the home fires burning both figuratively and literally. But the fires are those of a new era when words are burned and action demanded.

Lou Rogers, the cartoonist, has drawn a picture she calls "The International Joke." It shows Mr. and Mrs. Europe laughing at the contrast between Wilson's American and European speeches about "fighting for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government," with the reality in the background of the picture, womanhood in figurative chains.

The chains were not quite figurative in the case of Lucy Burns, the gentle, beloved leader of the miltiants. The jailers put handcuffs on her and fastened them to the grating of the prison door. Well may Mr. and Mrs. Europe laugh at the international joke, words of freedom contrasted with chains of bondage. And well may the suffragettes burn the words in public in order that people may see the chains.

Then there are the dramatic court decisions after women have served sentences in prison, when the Court of Appeals declares that the prisoners did not break any law, but that the arrest, trials and sentences were illegal.

Promptly suits for heavy damages are filed by many women.

All this is most embarrassing for the government, especially for the Democratic Party and the Democratic leader.

But arrests continue to be made, though the cases have to be continued from day to day, to give the lawyers and courts time to discover what the victims were arrested for, and what law was broken.

Suffragists have sat in court and refused to give their names when called upon, and refused to stand and recognize at all, a court in whose establishment and laws women have had no voice.

Then the judge has adjourned the court to give him time to decide what to do with silent women, and opened it again with a personal appeal to the accused women to stand. They have remained seated, deaf, and dumb.

Finally those whom the police could identify have been sentenced, each one held up on her feet by two bailiffs, and the others whose identification was impossible, have, perforce, been freed.

The sentences have shrunk from six months to five days because hunger strikes have made more than five days inconvenient.

WHO wins in cases like these? Surely not the judge and the Democratic Party. The women win every time. They win their appeals and their acts are pronounced lawful. They win increasing consideration from politicians of every shade. Lookers-on blame the militant women because they themselves lack a sense of proportion. They think a bother is bigger than a principle. They don't know a world struggle when they see it.

The National Woman's Party continues to ask, "How long must women wait for liberty?" They have waited from 1848 and the first declaration of rights drawn up by the great women of that day. They have waited from 1878 and the introduction into Congress by Senator Sargent of California, of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. They have waited while, state by state, the suffrage map grows free in the West, and even Rhode Island grants Presidential suffrage. They have waited while even German women, as well as Russian women and British women and Australian women and many others have votes. And for six years they have said that patience has ceased to be a virtue.

The National Woman's Party says "Suffrage first," and it means suffrage first.

Woman's Party Campaign

IT is unquestionable that the Woman's Party has helped to keep interest in suffrage alive. It has helped to rouse the President. The very irritation caused by its tactics has had a stimulating effect. It has done much to make opponents ridiculous.—*John D. Barry in San Francisco Call, February 28.*

An Act of Justice Bound to Come

(Reprint from the Chattanooga News, 2-11-19)

FAILURE of the suffrage amendment by just one vote is one of the exasperating denials of justice which make for a reaction of extreme feeling.

Fifty-five votes were cast in favor of the resolution, twenty-nine votes were cast against it. Eight senators were paired in favor of the measure and four were paired against it. Thus sixty-three of the ninety-six senators elected by the states were in favor of referring the matter for action to the various states, while thirty-three, or just one more than one-third, blocked this thoroughly democratic course.

Ours is a government of majorities. The constitution provides for a two-thirds vote on very few propositions. Amending the constitution is one. Overriding the veto of the executive is another. But in no case in American history has a proposition for an amendment received a two-thirds vote of one house and a majority vote of the other house and has not finally obtained the necessary two-thirds.

The sense of justice is strong in the American heart.

What is the idea of democracy held by those Democrats who are included along with Lodge, Penrose & Co. in the twenty-nine votes in opposition to a referendum? Shall a small minority in Congress arrogate to itself the right to act as an obstructing barrier against such a referendum? Every senator must realize that by his vote alone the resolution was lost. Why are these senators so afraid of a popular verdict on this proposition? The answer must be that they know the public is in favor of woman's suffrage, and they therefore are unwilling to submit it to the people. Their course appears to be inspired by the most dangerous reactionary element that is fighting liberal measures in the United States, an element which is provoking keen unrest among the people.

THE President said this was a fundamental proposition, and made it clear that he could not so well plead for the democratization of the world while we were denying a large part of our people a voice in our affairs.

Most of the Democrats who voted yesterday against a submission of this referendum are Southern Democrats, so called. But they are not Jeffersonian Democrats. The sage of Monticello testified that the constitution of Tennessee adopted in 1796 was the most Democratic of any adopted up to that time. He said this because Tennessee had granted universal male suffrage. It was not until 1850 that Virginia, Jefferson's own state, gave universal male suffrage. He was always in advance of his time on suffrage. So let not the advocates of a really universal suffrage be discouraged. These movements are often delayed. It isn't any sacred regard for state's rights on the part of these senators. How little such has to do with it was shown by the votes of Southern members in favor of the prohibition resolution. Such talk is camouflage.

But why does the South sit on the conservative bench? It is largely due to a foolish fear that suffrage might involve white domination. But is there any ground for such fear? Isn't it a fact that the Southern white man has through his state constitutions or election laws got matters pretty much as he likes? In most of the Southern States the addition of women to the electorate would increase the white majority. It would double it in Tennessee. In other states the matter of negro women voting would not affect us any more than the vote of negro men.

It is, after all, only by treating the negro justly that we are going to avoid federal interference. In Tennessee we have no fear of such result. By its narrow provincial policy the Southern Democrats may to our harm revive a sectional issue thought to be dead.

ALL honor to those eleven Southern senators, among whom was Senator McKellar, of Tennessee, who were not influenced by the pleas for narrow prejudice. They saved the South from the charge that it alone was to blame for the result.

We erect monuments to Southern women, and take off our hats to them in elevators, and boast of our Southern chivalry; we encourage them to participate in every public movement; they have aided every Southern state in driving out liquor; they are the evangels of better schools, and but for their attention to educational problems there would be nothing done; they are harnessed up in every drive for Red Cross, liberty loan, patriotic or charitable funds; we give them a tremendous amount of lip flattery, but on election day, when they could be of some real influence, we leave them at home.

If this constitutes Southern chivalry it is time for the South to find a new definition for the word. The man who is indifferent to the justice of this cause, after woman's contribution in this war, has no cavalier blood in his veins.

HUNDREDS of thousands of Southern along with other women have for years been going from the homes into work of one kind or another. They are not only clerks in stores, stenographers, school teachers and in professional work, but they are at the wheels of industry, and in occupations formerly thought belonging exclusively to men. The war has taught us some of the possibilities of woman labor. They are no longer represented in the government in a way which their peculiar avocations and interests entitle them to. We need the women viewpoint not only on educational and charitable matters but on industries in which women and children are employed. Women, as a matter of justice, are entitled to the protection which such representation would help to give them.

Furthermore, the strongest argument for women's suffrage is because woman has the right to use the vote to protect her offspring.

The Western states have had women's suffrage for a long time. They are more progressive in law-making than any other states in the Union. Nor has the participation of women in voting changed one iota woman's relation to the home life, or made her any the less a good mother or sister, or less womanly and feminine.

No question is ever settled until it is settled right. The suffrage amendment yesterday gained two votes over the last time it was presented. It is within one vote of passage. President Wilson will sail for the United States on Feb. 24. He will call an extra session of Congress, we believe, in order not to delay this act of simple justice.

A Comment

DEMOCRATIC Senators have been called into caucus at Washington to discuss suffrage. Their duty is obvious. It is to line up solidly behind the constitutional amendment that has been so long delayed and prove to the world that America at Paris is not asking anything of social justice that it has not adopted at home.

The political strategy of a complete championship of the suffrage cause by the Democratic Senators is less important than the necessity for meeting this pressing problem with courage and justice. The war demonstrated many things, but none more clearly than the heroic and tireless participation of womanhood not only in its workrooms back home, but in the actual danger zone.

What these women ask is theirs as a matter of justice and right. They do not seek a privilege or a preference. They want what forward-looking states have already given, which even Germany has bequeathed her people. The Democratic Senators are not alone responsible for America's failure to forward the movement, but they have a great opportunity to crown themselves not only with the credit that comes from meritorious service, but the consciousness of having performed a duty and dispensed justice.—*Harrisburg "Patriot," February 7, 1919.*

Comments of the Press

"The Militants"

IT is a pity that at the next Presidential election women in a number of states will be unable to vote on account of the failure of Congress to adopt the federal amendment resolution, so that action by legislatures might have begun this spring. It is not a question of the adoption of the amendment; it is a question of the refusal of the necessary number in Congress to submit it. The war is over and the nation is pledged dry, so the two scarecrows that were wont to be raised are no longer effective.

Womankind stood equally as firm as man for the war against an inhuman enemy and women bore their full share here and in allied nations. National prohibition was not a "woman's question" solely; men supported the measure equally.

A delegation from the National Woman's Party was in Denver this week. Its members had dared, defied and suffered. They are militants. They have centered their campaign upon one man—the President. Why? Those responsible for it had the proper political intuition at any rate; they had to have one target to fire at. Were they justified? Mere man might say no and he would enter upon a long argument, balancing pros and cons. Woman said "yes" and proceeded upon a different hypothesis. We hope the women are wrong.

It is not because of what Mr. Wilson said that the militants oppose him so strenuously, it is on what he left unsaid until it was too late to be of use. Altogether, beneath the surface, it is a very interesting argument that is advanced. If the good ladies are right, then Mr. Wilson, the academician, is a modern Machiavelli and the diplomats at Paris had better look out for him! As one of the leaders of the visiting delegation put it, "he makes you believe while you are listening to his honeyed words that he is the most ardent suffragist in the country, when your better judgment tells you that he at heart has never changed his Southern views on suffrage."

In recent years Mr. Wilson's record on the issue is unassailable—in court. He has the documentary proofs. Yet the women who have been campaigning the country "feel it in their bones" that he has never been a sincere upholder of the amendment or it would have passed his controlled Congress. We do not answer; we merely call attention to the woman militant viewpoint so at variance with the reasoning process of man in politics. Woman knows. It is waste of time to reason with them. As a man thinketh, so is he.—*Rocky Mountain News, Denver, Colorado, March 15, 1919.*

Woman Suffrage Not Killed; Merely Delayed; Inevitable

FORTY-FIVE senators voted to give the various states a chance to say whether they want woman suffrage incorporated in the federal constitution. Twenty-nine members voted against the proposal. For the lack of one vote it was defeated, two-thirds being necessary.

The small minority which killed the resolution after it had passed the lower house, which, being closer to the people, had discovered long ago that the men of America want their women to have the ballot, did not kill suffrage.

The twenty-nine only delayed it. Enfranchisement of women is inevitable. Suffrage leaders, with good reason, expect such a resolution to be adopted in the next Congress, which will be a Republican Congress. The Republicans will have a fine opportunity to make excellent campaign material for themselves in the 1920 Presidential campaign.

Not only in the Untied States, but throughout the world, activities incident to the war gave women power and respect that they never had known before. This power they will use to the uttermost in American politics and it will be a strong factor at the polls, in nonsuffrage states as well as in states where women vote.

In addition, the women now have a moral argument that was not available in the past. The United States is assuming a position in the world of moral mentor for all nations and peoples. It is summoning the world to sign up for the maintenance of the "square deal" and the highest and most idealized set of human principles ever promulgated for transcription into international law.

And all the time it is living a lie at home—denying to the best part of its own population the plain natural rights that are recognized not only by the kingdoms of England and Sweden, but by every one of the salvage crews that is trying to patch together again the wreckage of ruined Germany.

A whipped and smashed nation, looking death in the face, calls on its women. The United States will not wait that long.—*Chicago Herald-Examiner, February 11, 1919.*

Women Will Vote

THE defeat of the suffrage measure in the Senate is the more lamentable for the reason that its final incorporation into the law of the land is generally felt and conceded to be inevitable. If it does not come by way of constitutional amendment, it will come state by state by legislative enactment.

Those who favor equal suffrage in principle but insist that it is not a subject for federal legislation do not comprise the great body of its opponents and are less consistent than those opposing it in principle. Surely the right of the nation's intelligent womanhood to a voice in government is properly a federal question.

Lincoln asserted as a fundamental principle of government as well as a fundamental declaration of right that a nation cannot long exist half slave and half free. Nonparticipation in affairs of government under express restraint of law is not exactly slavery, but it verges on it whenever injustice and repression of legal rights result from it. And who shall be heard to deny that injustice and repression has found the sanction of law under the American flag?—*Los Angeles Express, February 29.*

What is Which?

SENATOR Borah is opposed to a League of Nations unless it is first sanctioned by a vote of the people, but as he voted against giving the franchise to women the good ladies are curious to know what sort of a referendum he wants. The old question "Are women people?" seems to project itself into the arena. The rising impression is that the Senator is merely talking for the purpose of ascertaining how far his voice will carry. It is violating no confidence to state that his voice will not carry as far as it used to--*Los Angeles Daily Times, February 26.*

Fair Play for Women

IT ought to be a matter of mortification and concern to the men of America to reflect that, though this professes to be the foremost democratic country of the world, it yet falls behind many others in one most essential element of justice. That is in the denial of suffrage to women in many of the states. Women now vote in Germany, and in the National Assembly that has just begun its sessions at Weimar they constitute almost one-eighth of all the members. They enjoy equal rights with men in Russia, and in Great Britain they for the first time enjoyed the right of franchise at the recent election. The Scandinavian countries, Finland, Czecho-Slovakia and other nations have framed their electoral laws in accordance with the spirit of the day and have given women the right to the vote. In the face of such forcible examples why should the United States hold back?

Women helped the United States to win the war in short order. For this reason alone, if not as a matter of common fairness, their present pleas should be heeded. They are entitled to the ballot, and ought to have it. To postpone a step which must inevitably be taken merely produces irritation and serves no good *purpose whatsoever.—Philadelphia Record, February 10, 1919.*

Victory Postponed

THE fight is now transferred from the Senate to the people. Some day it will be a "suffrage Senate." That day won't be long coming. The failure to secure a two-thirds vote in the upper house of Congress is the stepping stone to a more vigorous prosecution of the battle for woman's rights; what probably will be the last and successful "drive" for suffrage already has started.—*Los Angeles Record, February 18.*

Treasurer's Report

Treasurer, Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall
Bank of Deposit, American Security and Trust Co., Washington, D. C.

Auditors: Marwick, Mitchell Peet & Co.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO $500,000.000 FUND FOR PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

COLLECTIONS FROM DECEMBER, 1912

List of contributions from March 12 through March 19, 1919:

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Mrs. Clara D. Oakley, Ill.	$5.00
Mrs. William H. Blauvelt, N. Y.	50.00
Miss Louise Lewis, Pa.	50.00
Miss Florence Holbrook, Ill.	10.00
Milwaukee Branch, Wis.	50.00
Mr. Horace H. Havemeyer, N. Y.	100.00
Miss M. C. Schaff, Ill.	5.00
Collection, Prison Special	282.75
Miss Mary W. Goodwin, D. C.	5.00
Syracuse Branch, N. Y.	50.00
Miss Ella Buell, Ill.	94.82
Mr. Winfield L. Shaw, N. H.	100.00
Mrs. Lois Warren Shaw, N. H.	25.00
Mr. R. C. Patterson, D. C.	5.00
Miss Susie Edith René, Cal.	2.00
Mr. Bret Harris, D. C.	1.00
Miss Joy Young, N. Y.	2.00
Miss Matilda Young, D. C., collected	2.00
Colorado Branch	125.00
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Mrs. John Gribbel, Pa.	10.00
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Collection	12.50
Membership Fees	38.50
Total collected by National Headquarters	2,236.57
Previously acknowledged in The Suffragist	409,756.68
Total collected by National Headquarters through March 19, 1919	411,993.25

Contributions made to Michigan Headquarters:

Mr. Chas. D. Warren	50.00
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Miss Grace Webster	2.50
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Miss Lillian O'Hara	25.00
	173.50
Total collected by Branches	310.50
Previously acknowledged in The Suffragist	78,539.67
Total collected by Branches through March 19, 1919	78,850.17
Grand Total	$490,843.42
Deduction: Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	4,733.50
Grand Net Total	$486,109.92

Correction:

Treasurer's report March 6, through March 12:

Contribution listed Miss Mabel Vernon $10 corrected to Miss Mary E. Hawley, Ill., $10; contribution listed Miss Vivian Pierce $5, corrected to Alderman H. Capitan, Ill., $5.00

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